Then the Shibukombe (emissary) is invited, whose job it is to uncover the covered baskets. In payment for his work he may take all the small presents placed on top of the food /no tuntu toonse tulya bashikwile pa bwali, fyakwe/. 584

Period Between the Engagement and Nubility: /kukûba/. During the period preceeding nubility the fiancée often goes to her fiancé's hut in order to do small chores, such as sweeping, lighting the fire, drawing water or whitewashing the house. These chores are supposed to reveal to the fiancé the devotion and skill of his future wife /kuchichila/. Furthermore, she will live in her fiancé's house for a considerable time in order to show that she is docile /kupetama/. 583

When his fiancée is on the eve of menstruation, the fiancé goes to live with his father-in-law /shifyala/. He does several favors for him. As a token of respect, the food which is offered him is always covered by a basket. His bwali will be offered him uncovered only on the day when the Shibukombe is invited to uncover the wedding bwali, before which the latter will pour water for him to wash his hands /kusambikisha/, and after having whitened the spot where the fiancé washed his hands (nsoni shapwa) with clayey soil (kushingula). [576]

Chisungu (Menstruation). In the forest. When the fiancée has her first period, /kuwa chisungu/, she runs to hide in the forest. After finding her, her kinswomen collect around her in order to make certain of the fact /bamukunsha/. They then break small branches from the trees, and while dancing they sing as follows: "We have gone to tell the little spotted lion-cub that his master has come" /Twaire sobera nkalamo ya mabala chibinda taluba/. They then go to the fiancé's house, and place their branches on the roof saying: "Nshimba, nshimba" (wild cat). From this moment on, the fiancé takes the name of shichisungu, and the fiancée, nachisungu. 88

At home. Then the women go to find the nachisungu (the nubile fiancée) in the forest, and after having submitted her to various /213/ tests, such as jumping across a bundle of fire-wood or drinking water from a jug which contains small tadpoles, they carry her back to her home on their shoulders. The fiancée's father leaves his hut and goes to stay elsewhere. Henceforth there will be the mako [784]

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have sons, he says is 'to throw away the seed' (*ukupose mbuto*), but to have daughters is to 'set up a local group' (*ukusange cifulo*).

In a new village there will probably be one matrilocal family group of the type described, i.e. a headman and his married daughters and their husbands and possibly one or two married granddaughters. But when the community has been in existence for a long time, or the headmanship has passed to one or two men in succession, there may be three or four of these matrilocal extended families composed of the daughters of contemporaries of the headman, either men who originally came from another village to marry one of his near relatives and have chosen to live with him all their married lives,[1] or contemporaries of the last headman who have preferred to remain living with his heir. These heads of matrilocal family groups are the most influential members of the community and are known as the 'great ones' of the village (*bakalamba*), and the household of a man who has several married daughters living under his care is known as a 'big house' (*iŋanda ikalamba*). Of the headman of one village who had seven married daughters and their husbands and children—some of the latter also married—living with him, natives exclaimed with rapture: 'Truly that is a big house! My word! That is luck indeed!'[2]

Thus, the chief principle of local association in Bemba society is a man's legal right to the services of his son-in-law. The rule of residence results directly from the type of marriage contract. Among a number of other Bantu peoples, the transfer of material goods, such as cattle, is the essential element of the marriage transaction, and determines the relationship between the groups so united throughout the married life of the couple concerned. But among the Bemba, the marriage payment is insignificant, or was so until the present day. It consisted of a small betrothal present (*nsalamo*) such as a bracelet, a couple of bark-cloths given by the bridegroom to his father-in-law at the initiation of the girl (*fye cisungu*), and at the time of the marriage ceremony (*mpango*), these latter now being replaced by cloth, or a few

[1] This was apparently quite common in the old days, though rare now. In most villages one or two old men are described as having 'come here to marry' and in one village (Kacienja, near Shiwa Ndandu 1931 and 1934) a man had actually become headman of his wife's village, assuming authority over her relatives, although he was of course unable to officiate at ceremonies to the ancestral spirits of the community, which office he delegated to a member of his wife's lineage group. [2] *Iŋanda ikalamba iena! Mwandi! Te kushyuka!*

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583 shillings in money. It was the labour of the son-in-law over a certain period of years that was the essential tie uniting the families bound in marriage. In the majority of cases this is still so at the present day, though the changes produced by the absence of many young sons-in-law at the mines will have to be described.

The Secondary Groupings—the Matrilineal Descent Group.

601 614 The matrilineal descent group can never be the chief principle of local association in a society that practises matrilocal marriage, permanent or temporary. Among the Bemba a man is legally identified with his mother's lineage group. To this descent group belong his mother (*nyina*, plur. *banyina*), her brothers (*nalume*, plur. *banalume*) and sisters (*banyina*), and the latter's children (*umunyina*, plur. *bamunyina*); his own brothers (*munyina*) and sisters (*nkashi*), and the latter's children (*umwipwa*, plur. *bepwa*); and, two generations below him, the children of his sisters' daughters (*umweshikulu* plur. *beshikulu*), who also belong to his clan. In this group the women members remain very closely associated throughout life. The girl lives with her mother and sisters during girlhood and early married years. She may continue to do so all her life. At any rate she constantly returns to visit her mother even if she is officially settled in her husband's village after some years of marriage. She summons her mother, and probably her sisters, to spend long weeks with her, especially if the birth of a child is expected. But the rule of matrilocal marriage naturally divides the men of the matrilineal descent group from the women, at any rate during their youth and early manhood. A young man normally lives neither with his father's people nor his mother's, but in the village of his bride. It is only if he has contracted a marriage within the village in which he was brought up, that he will remain associated with his sisters and parents. Neither the girl nor the boy necessarily live in the village of their mother's brother (*nalume*), who is their legal guardian, unless something has happened to break up the matrilocal family group into which they were born, or unless the boy has married his cross-cousin (*umufyała*, plur. *bafyala*) and therefore the mother's brother becomes a father-in-law (*shifyala*, plur. *bashifyala*).[1]

Nevertheless, the ties uniting the matrilineal descent group remain very strong and, as I stated, determine residence, in some

[1] Both types of cross-cousin marriage are practised.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE DOMESTIC UNIT

Daughter Households.

252 614 IF the kinship of the women who regularly thresh and grind together be studied, it will be found that they mostly stand in the mother-daughter, grandmother-granddaughter or sister-sister relationship—that they are in fact the women of the matrilocal group. Among the Bemba, joint domestic activities are based on the kinship of the women householders, not that of the men as in patrilocal communities. These closely related women form a co-operating group—grandmother, mothers, and daughters with the 614 grandfather at their head. The young man who marries into the group is in fact almost an outsider during his first few years of wedded life and only gradually acquires economic control over his household, let alone the right of choice of residence, or power to 583 remove his children to his own village. The cattle handed over as *lobola* to the bride's father in South Africa are described as a permanent guarantee of the good behaviour of the married couple towards each other, but among the Bemba the bridegroom has to work for some years in a position of economic dependence in order to prove his worth as a husband or father at all, and during this time his wife can be removed if he fails to carry out his obligations. The bride and bridegroom at marriage have no food-supply [591] of their own. On his bethrothal a youth goes to live in his bride's village.[1] He cuts gardens for his father-in-law, directly under the latter's orders, and does any other work, such as hoeing, that may be required of him.[2] He builds himself his own hut, which his future bride, possibly a young girl of 10 or 12, sweeps and tidies for him, and in which she is later allowed to go and sleep until signs of approaching puberty make her mother afraid she

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[1] The following description applies to the system of marriage apparently practised before the coming of the white man, and still observed with certain modifications in the majority of cases. The changes caused by the introduction of money payments for service and by the absence of the young men at the mines will be discussed separately.

[2] Chiefly the tree-cutting preparatory to making millet gardens. A son-in-law always describes his own marriage as, 'I cut trees for him for so many years', and the money sent back to his father-in-law by a youth at the mines is called 'money for tree-cutting' (*ndalama shya kutema*)—now about 10s. a year.

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583 [585]

may become pregnant before her initiation ceremony (*icisungu*) has been performed. After this rite the marriage ceremony itself takes place, and the bride returns to her husband's hut.

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During this period of betrothal and early marriage the bridegroom is fed by his mother-in-law who sends him dishes of cooked food, which he shares with the other young men in the village. If he has married within the family or village, the bride's mother does not consider herself entirely responsible for his food, but still sends him dishes when convenient. The wife meanwhile continues to eat with the women of her own family. After a time a bridegroom may choose to make a separate millet patch of his own as well as clearing the bush and working in his father-in-law's garden, but in either case his nutritive dependence is unchanged. At harvest the grain is carried to the granary of his wife's family and for some years after marriage he is not allowed to build a store of his own. His wife in the meantime is equally dependent on her mother's household. She is not even allowed a fire-place of her own, and is considered unfit to cook or handle her supplies. A young girl's hut has a fire, but no cooking supports for her pots, and she does all her household work as one of her mother's working team. About a year after the marriage ceremony the girl is 'given a fire-place' (*ukumupela shiko*) by her mother, and is allowed to cook in her own hut the flour ground in her mothers'.[1] Hereafter the mother will occasionally give her daughter a basket of millet to grind and cook for herself instead of sharing in the family supplies. It depends how much food is available on any one day, for it is recognized that it is more economical for people to eat together from the same dish. But to be given grain to grind herself, whether for beer or porridge, is a privilege highly appreciated. It is the bride's initial step of independence, for it gives her the right for the first time to distribute food or drink to her own and her husband's friends. As a next step, the son-in-law builds his own granary, if his wife is considered fit to take charge of the grain-supply. The young couple continue to rely on the parent household for additional support, and the wife still cooks and eats her food with her mother and sisters. Later the young married people, themselves probably parents by this time, become completely responsible for their own commissariat, although the woman, if she continues to live in her own village, carries her basket of millet to her mother's

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[1] I never saw this ceremony performed, and have no full account of it.

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583 252 hut, and cooks and eats it there with her relatives and children. Delicacies such as meat, fish, or beer are divided between the houses. If the husband later removes his wife to his own village, the exchange of gifts and the visits of grandchildren still persist.

583 Thus in the old days the Bemba husband acquired sexual rights over his wife for five or six years before he could consider himself the economic head of his household, and even nowadays the period is normally two or three years. The power to allocate food and beer to his friends, the ambition of the young husband, is a privilege only gradually won.[1] Control over his children and the right to remove them and their mother to his own community, should he desire to do so, is achieved last of all. The bridegroom has in fact to change his position from being almost a stranger in his wife's village to one of considerable standing and even authority, when he comes to have married daughters and hence sons-in-law of his own. I have seen a young bridegroom stand sheepishly in the distance watching his wife laughing and talking with five of her female relatives on the veranda of her mother's hut. He was afraid to ask her to bring him water, scared by the sight of so many members of his wife's family all sitting together, and unable to join the group because of the in-law avoidance rules. Yet he would have been demeaned in Bemba eyes if he had gone to draw the water himself. Onlookers were much amused. 'Look he is afraid to call his wife,' they said, smiling, but made no offer to help. The position of a young son-in-law is in fact considered exceedingly funny, and Bemba delight to point out his embarrassing situation. Later in life, as the father of three or four married daughters with children, he has a very different status, and, if he choose to remain in his wife's village, he is accepted and honoured as one of the *bakalamba* of the community.

583 606 The husband's dependence on his wife's family is brought to an end by definite stages. These are ceremonially marked and the assumption of behaviour proper to each is traditionally defined. The relationships between a man and his affinal relations are not left to the hazards of an informal process of adjustment and individual reaction as in our own society. On his betrothal the son-in-law receives a series of ritual presentations of different foodstuffs from his mother-in-law (*ukushikula*) which make him

[1] Cf. Chapters XI and XII for discussion on distribution and conceptions of wealth.

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free to eat the foods she has cooked for him.[1] After a period varying anything from five to fifteen years he is ceremoniously admitted to his wife's family (*ukumuingishya*) 'to make him enter in', and after this feast and dance the keeping of the in-law taboos is at an end. This rite takes place when the marriage appears absolutely stable and two or more children have been born, and the ceremony is no mere picturesque survival at the present day. The early years of Bemba marriage are a genuine period of trial, and fathers-in-law do not hesitate to refuse to admit their daughter's husbands into their family if the latter have not won their full approval. I heard of a case in which a man performed the *ukuingishya* ceremony for his youngest son-in-law after a period of two years, because he was a steady, likeable fellow, but postponed the rite for ten in the case of his eldest daughter's husband who was less dependable. It is only when husbands are scarce, under modern conditions of absentee labour, that fathers are afraid to exert their jurisdiction over their sons-in-law in the traditional way.

The Symbolism of Cooked Food.

The feeding of the *shifyala* is not only one of the economic obligations of the marriage contract, but part of the complicated pattern of etiquette prescribed between the bridegroom and his wife's family. It is, in fact, one of those instances in which the giving and receiving of cooked food has become symbolic of the legal or economic relationship which entails it. It is particularly important to notice that the preparation of porridge and relish is the woman's most usual way of expressing the correct kinship sentiment towards her different male relatives, for this actually affects the distribution of food in the community. The case of the son-in-law is characteristic.

The Bemba custom of sending food to the son-in-law, *ukutebeta shifyala*, with all the ceremonial that surrounds it, is one of the essential elements of the prescribed etiquette between the wife's family and that of the husband. The young son-in-law may be an outsider and a nobody in some respects, but he must be treated

[1] The full series of ceremonies are rarely performed nowadays, but the son-in-law will probably be made ritually free of one or two of the chief foods. Compare the observance of the *Hlonipa* customs of avoidance by the Zulu bride, coming to live in her husband's village according to the principles of patrilocal marriage, and the ceremonial by which she is gradually made free to drink the milk in the kraal of her relatives by marriage.

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in the future. Is there any advantage, economic or otherwise, in this particular system of joint labour? To share food from the same dish is certainly more economical than preparing separate portions. There is always enough, the Bemba women say, if you eat out of one basket.[1] This is ensured by the custom of grouping of men and of women and children at meals.

Again, it must be recognized that joint housekeeping makes for greater security in a society with no system of exchange or purchase of food. To be attached to a 'big house' is to share its fortunes—to have the chance of delicacies like beer and meat as often as possible, and to be certain of support in case of a shortage. A comparison between conditions in a modern village where the kinship groups are smaller (p. 153) makes this clear. Where the unit of consumption is only one or two households the people may be better off at good seasons of the year but practically destitute in a bad one.

Joint cooking also eases the housewife's labour very largely. The younger women, in particular, like grinding and pounding together, and seem to work with greater enthusiasm in this way. The difficulties of combining lengthy cooking processes with gardening have already been described (Chap. VI and VIII). The woman with several young girls to help her may be able to work in her husband's fields and yet be able to provide relish for the evening meal. The isolated housewife may not, and the notes given on typical families (Chap. X) show this fact concretely.

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Lastly, we saw that the Bemba system of education provides for no direct instruction in housecraft or a knowledge of the lore of the bush, but this information is acquired by a process of imitation through membership of a large group. Matrilocal marriage means that the girl is under the orders of her mother both before and after marriage for many years and thus learns the arts of organization, leadership, and the management of supplies by slow degrees. This seemed to me not the least important function of the matrilocal cooking team.

Domestic Economics in Modern Marriages.

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The partial break-down of the matrilocal family system has had pronounced effects on the whole domestic economy of the Bemba.

[1] It will be seen (pp. 139, 41, 70) how housewives give their kinswomen grain to grind when food is plentiful, a small portion of flour when it is less so, and an invitation to share their dish when it is really scarce.

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Nowadays the boy, on his betrothal, usually goes to work for Europeans, either in his own neighbourhood or on the copper belt. In the latter case he probably stays away a year or two and does not return to cut trees for his father-in-law. He sends back 10s. a year instead. Theoretically this money is intended to be used to pay a labourer to do the bridegroom's work, but this rarely happens. The father-in-law tends to spend this money immediately on some European object which he urgently needs and can get in no other way—a cloth, for instance, or a hoe. Thus a bridegroom may fulfil his contract most satisfactorily according to native standards, but yet the gardens he should have made may remain uncut.

After his return the young man marries his bride and probably lives in the village for a year or two. He usually works for his father-in-law during this time, but under modern conditions the old men are powerless to exact their full due of service, and I saw a good many cases in which young husbands idled in their wives' villages for a whole season, on the plea they had come back home to 'rest' (cf. p. 172). In any case, though they consider themselves entirely responsible for clothing their wives and children, they do not feel bound to feed them until later in life. The economic team of the father-in-law and his sons-in-law cannot exist under these conditions, with resultant effects not only on the food-supply of the family but on the agricultural education of the young men.

In other cases the young man gets permission to take his bride straight away with him to the mines after a few months of married life, or on his second visit there, which is the more common procedure. In this case it is the woman who forgoes the education in housecraft and manners she should have received in her mother's group. Girls of 16 or 17 transplanted from their villages in this way seem in a particularly defenceless position when living near their husbands' place of work, and it is probable that the matrilocal system, while it makes for an easier adjustment for the women left behind in a 'manless country-side' under modern conditions, puts young wives at a particular disadvantage when they are taken from their homes and the support to which they have been accustomed. Whether it is housecraft, midwifery, or the weaning of children, they are divorced from the ordinary agencies of tribal education and that female solidarity to which they are used.

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These are, as yet, isolated instances. As a whole, it can be said that the Bemba system of joint cookery and domestic co-operation continues to work in the old fashion, except in the few suburban villages in which the groups of households so united are much smaller, limited usually to two or three huts, and therefore the advantages of pooled resources are reduced. But the economic dependence of a young couple on the wife's parents which formerly acted as a test of the husband's suitability, a sanction for his good behaviour, and a means of education in technical activities, no longer functions in the same way. Where the husband is intermittently away at the mines, the father-in-law assumes a more complete responsibility for his married daughter and her children and for a longer period than before, but has to do without the advantage of his son-in-law's agricultural help, so that his obligations are often heavier than he can properly carry out.

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the old custom of giving the father of the girl two or more bark-cloths. In 144 marriage contracts I recorded small sums of money were paid in 86 cases, i.e. 59 per cent., and in six villages where I made marriage censuses an average of 6*s.* 6*d.* was paid for the *mpango* of the girl. The old bark-cloths were replaced by calico cloths, and many *mpango* are still paid in this fashion, and later by the money to buy the cloth. The 10*s.* given the father-in-law as the 'money to cut the trees' is merely the wage for a month's work at European rates.

Baskets, pots, axes, and other objects made by the Bemba craftsmen were always paid for by goods in kind or by service, and for these dues money has been nearly everywhere substituted. Even then, the purchase is not subject to the ordinary laws of demand and supply, since once the regulation sum for a basket or a pot has been fixed at 3*d.* or 6*d.* there it will remain, however scarce the materials of which it is made.

The use of money in Bemba ritual life is largely due to its rarity value. It has the prestige of an object that comes from a foreign country and which is possessed by few members of the community. Before the arrival of the white man it is clear that articles that came from far off, brought by Arabs, or sent as presents to the chiefs, had a particular value, and were kept as presents of honour or marks of status. Hence they were considered particularly suitable as offerings to the ancestral spirits. The use of bark-cloth for this purpose was common here as in other parts of Bantu Africa, but it was not the local bark-cloth that was hung on the shrine of the ancestor, but the valuable calico brought by Arab traders. In the same way I have seen barrels of guns stuck in the ground over the grave of a chief (Cilubi Island on Lake Bangweolu) and have been asked by the Paramount for china plates for the same purpose. He told me that plates or tea-pots had been offered to the spirits in this way in the old days because they were 'valuables' (*ifyuma*) and because 'we had not seen any before'. Cattle taken in war were also considered necessary for some ancestral sacrifices, although the Bemba are not a pastoral people. Money has apparently acquired a similar rarity value which it has not yet lost. A present of a coin is appreciated not only on its own account but because of the kudos it gives. Most Europeans hesitate to give money as a present to an equal or to a superior because it is a currency used for the ordinary run of economic transactions, and therefore seems to give a

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probably follow her there. Thus, though the difficulties of achieving a stable marriage in Lubemba are great the rewards for achieving such a union are high. 596

THE MARRIAGE CONTRACT

A traditional Bemba marriage was contracted by gradual steps, 583 a series of stages, generally marked by ritual, by which a young man became incorporated in his wife's family by dint of joint residence and by exchange of his services for food and general support from his relatives-in-law. To reach a stable Bemba marriage the relationship between the two groups had to reach a fine equilibrium based on sentiment, shared economic tasks and an accepted division of rights over the children of the union. It had always something of the trial and error nature about it, during the first years of married life, and it still had these characteristics in 1931.

To contract a marriage a Bemba bridegroom makes a series of small payments to his relatives-in-law and does several years' work for his wife's father or mother. In return his wife's parents feed him entirely for a year or two, and give him substantial support for a larger period. To European eyes the husband gets the worst of the bargain since the labour he gives his father-in-law can never be returned in case of divorce; but Bemba consider the hospitality of the bride's family and the many presents of 'respect' they offer the bridegroom as a substantial contribution. I have seen a young man leave his tribe because he thought his mother-in-law was 'stingy' and lacking in respect. It is the women of the family who are responsible for honouring the son-in-law in this way. The husband gives a betrothal present (*nsalamo*), which is a token such as a copper bangle or, nowadays, a small coin. The main payment is the *mpango* which consisted formerly of two or three barkcloths but is now a sum of money, which averaged 8/- on 72 marriages I recorded in 1934. The *mpango* is given to the parents during the preliminary negotiations, or later, to legitimize a union not contracted formally. The bridegroom also used to pay money to his father or mother-in-law for organizing his bride's chisungu

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
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583 ceremony and gave a bark-cloth or money to the mistress of the ceremonies for 'dancing his bride'.

The characteristic feature of the old Bemba marriage was the small size of the payments in comparison with those made in the cattle marriages of the Southern and Eastern Bantu. The *mpango* gave the father those limited rights he secured over his children, although it did not, in this matrilineal society, give him complete control over his son or daughter, and never gave him, or his lineage, control over his wife's reproductive powers as does the cattle *lobola* among the Southern Bantu.[1]

584 The stages by which the marriage relationship is gradually developed in the case of a girl's first union are as follows:

(*a*) *The betrothal* (*ukukobeka*)—literally 'to hook yourself down a branch from a tree'. Boys and girls meet at dances during the harvest season, or when visiting from village to village. The young man then proposes to the girl and sends his betrothal present (*nsalamo*). The boy's family should give approval but this did not seem essential in 1931. The consent of the girl's parents and her mother's brother and father's sister was, however, a necessary step in marriage negotiations.

The betrothal ceremony was usually accompanied by an exchange of beer and cooked food between the families. The *ukukobeka* was not however considered a very serious or binding step, but merely one stage in the trial and error process of contracting marriage. It often took place during the childhood of the boy and girl.

(*b*) *The courtship visits* (*ukwishisha*). The bride and her friends then visit the bridegroom in his village. The girl friends may laugh and talk with the boys they visit, but the bride, if she is nearing puberty, or has reached it, must sit with downcast eyes and will only be tempted to enter her future husband's hut by a little present and will only talk to him if he gives her another small gift.

(*c*) *The boy's move to his bride's village.* If the bridegroom has reached puberty, he then moves to his father-in-law's village and builds himself a hut and starts to work for his wife's family.

[1] The extent to which the introduction of money payments has altered the old Bemba marriage system is fully discussed in my *Bemba Marriage and Modern Economic Conditions*, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Paper, No. 4, 1940.

matrilineage is, in the case of commoners, merely a unit of succession; in the case of members of the royal dynasty it is the unit which provides for the succession of chieftainships. 613

MARRIAGE

Uxorilocal residence, at any rate during the early years of married life, is characteristic of this group of peoples. Large payments in money or goods are not made at marriage, but the bridegroom, formerly at least, gave service to his parents-in-law for a number of years and sometimes remains permanently a member of the village in which his wife was born. Among the Bemba, for instance, it is the common practice for a young man to give a small betrothal present (*nsalamo*) to his fiancée's parents. He then moves to her village and builds a house there. Young girls were often engaged in this way before puberty, and performed small services for their husbands, such as sweeping the hut, drawing water or even sleeping in the same bed with them. At puberty they were removed from their husbands' huts until the *cisungu* (girls' puberty rite) had been performed and a marriage ceremony with the ritual consummation of the union took place. When she was first married, a girl had no right to a fire-place of her own, but shared in the cooking with her mother and married sisters. Later she acquired her own fire-place, granary and garden. After two or more children had been born, and the son-in-law had won the confidence of his parents-in-law, he was allowed to remove his bride to his own village or to some other village of his choosing. The rate of conversion of such marriages is not known amongst the Bemba, although Richards states that she believes that it was higher in this area than among the Bisa.(1) Figures for the Lamba, who practise a similar type of marriage, are given on p.59. 591 583 [83] [85]

Characteristic of the Bemba marriage contract is the importance attached to the series of ceremonial presentations of food by the mother-in-law to her son-in-law, which gradually make him "free" to eat the different staple foods, and the final ceremony known as the *kuingishuya* or "the entering in of the son-in-law", which takes place after the children have been born and the marriage is established and which puts an end finally to the tabooed relationship between a man and his wife's people. The ceremonial marking of the different stages in the establishment of a permanent marriage relationship was sometimes concluded in the old days by a second marriage ceremony known as the *bwinga*. This was a gesture of respect which a man of substance offered to his wife and her people in the case of a marriage which had been long established with a woman to whom the husband was particularly devoted. At the *bwinga* marriage, which has also been described for the Bisa, more goods were transferred than in the case of the first marriage, and it is specifically stated to have been a display of wealth.(2) 583

Among the Lunga, marriage procedures seem to be much more casual, there being no service by the son-in-law. Brelsford suggests that the marriage payment serves simply to confirm the fact that intercourse between the couple has already started and that the marriage is a fact.(3) The Bemba hold such arrangements in contempt. 583 184

(1) Richards, A. 1950.
(2) Richards, A. 1940.
(3) Brelsford, W. 1946, p.108.

643 At state functions the Kazembe appeared sitting on a stool placed upon
292 lion-skins. He was shaded by a canopy of umbrellas made of coarse native
293 cotton fabric(1) and wore an elaborate head-dress of scarlet and yellow
534 feathers, the *muconzo* cloth adorned with bead and cowrie ornaments, the
insipo girdle of hide,(2) and the *lukano* armband, emblem of his office.(3)
His notables and musicians sat nearby. Ceremonial dancing was performed
535 to the accompaniment of music.(4) Musical instruments(5) were *marimba*(6)
(a sort of xylophone), *chincufo*(7) (a basso drum), *imbirebire* (big conical
drum with cowhide or an elephant's ear stretched over the open end), *gomati*
(two pieces of iron connected by a curved rod). The *mondo*,(8) a hollow
wooden cylinder beated with drumsticks, was used to convey messages by means
of varying combinations of beats. The big sacred *chambancua* drum,(9) rest-
ing on a lion's skin in Kazembe's palace, was only brought out in wartime to
accompany the armies.

521 Clan and tribal history and family genealogies are favourite subjects
526 of discussion at beer-drinking parties. District and village rivalry now
finds expression in football matches.

BIRTH, MARRIAGE, DEATH

842 The male alone was thought to be instrumental in begetting children.
847 Babies who cut their upper teeth first were destroyed as bearers of bad
551 luck.(9) An infant is usually given the name of one of its dead ancestors
on either the paternal or maternal side; this gives some indication of an-
cestry. Chinyanta, Lukwesa, Ilunga, Muonga, are characteristic Lunda
names.

582 The effective exogamous unit is the *cikota*. Preferential marriage is
with the *mufyala*, a person whose father is a fellow-clansman of one's mother
or conversely, and particularly with father's sister's daughter. A network
of affinal relationships thus develops between villages. In general there
are no definite preferences leading to marriages between certain clans, but
583 traditional reputations attaching to clans may cause their members to be
591 regarded as desirable or undesirable marriage partners. Marriage payments
are low. Both matrilocal and patrilocal marriages occur, but for the first
few years marriage is usually matrilocal so that the husband can "get
accustomed". He puts up a temporary hut in the *citente* of his parents-in-
law and becomes a member of their extended family. Later the couple are at
liberty to move. Often the parents of both spouses live in the same
595 village. Lunda marriages tend to be patrilocal. Polygyny is not frequent.
The second wife is usually inherited, e.g. she may be one's elder brother's
widow. A man may marry a younger sister of his wife but not an elder sis-
ter, since she is called *mayofyala*, "mother-in-law".

764 The dead are buried in the bush. A *mvali* (see p.86 above) of the de-
ceased takes part in the ceremony. To divert the thoughts of the partici-

(1) Burton, p.254.
(2) Valdez, II, pp.217-8; cf. Livingstone, I, pp.262-3; Burton, p.42; Bowdich, p.91.
(3) Burton, p.253. (4) Valdez, II, p.227; Burton, p.114.
(5) Valdez, op.cit., pp.222-4; Livingstone, I, p.305.
(6) Burton, p.112; Valdez, op.cit., p.255.
(7) Gamitto, I, p.343. (8) ibid., pp.342-3.
(9) ibid., pp.331-2. (10) Livingstone, I, p.276.